2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

768 there would be no other reason for returning to it, since when the corpse is taken away all property which the relatives do not care to abandon completely is removed from the house at the same time.

In large measure the property of the deceased is destroyed or disposed of by the surviving relatives. [764] Some of his property, along with some of their own, is usually buried with the corpse. The greater part of the remainder of the property of the dead, and also frequently much of that of the relatives, is thrown into the river, given to other persons, or sold. Ordinarily one or two articles, as for instance a manta or an adz formerly belonging to the deceased, is kept by near relatives, but often there seems to be a definite desire to destroy all evidences of the life of the deceased and to get rid of any articles that would recall him to their minds.

KINSHIP

•601 The terms of relationship among the Cayapa are as follow:

Ascending Relationship

English	Cayapa	Equivalent
father	a′pa	
mother	a′ma	
grandfather	antc-a′pa	antc-father
grandmother	antc-a′ma	antc-mother
uncle	yapī′pī, apī′pī, apī′kū	a′pī-a′pa
older than parent	apa-karī′we	father-karī′we
	apīkū-rūkū′we	father-kū-old-man
younger than parent	ka′ī-apīpī	little-father-pī

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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uncle's son	apī-na′ʃala	father-brother
uncle's daughter	apī-na′ʃa-tsu′kkī	father-brother-sister
aunt[16]	mañgō′kō	
older than parent	mañgū′kū-cimbū′we	aunt-old-woman
younger than parent	karī′-mañgūkū	karī-aunt
aunt's son	mañgō-na′ʃala	aunt-brother
aunt's daughter	mañgō-naʃa-tsu′kkī	aunt-brother-sister

The terms for each of the corresponding ascending relationships through the father and the mother are identical.

COLLATERAL RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
brother	naʃa′la	
elder brother	ūnya′kō	
younger brother	bē′ña	
brother's son	apī′-nya	father-son
brother's son's son	apī′-nya-na	father-son-son
brother's son's daughter	apī-nya-na′ma	father-son-daughter
brother's daughter	apī′-na′ma	father–daughter
brother's daughter's son	apī-na′ma-na	father-daughter-son
brother's daughter's daughter	apī-na′ma-nama	father-daughter-daughter
sister	tsu′kkī	
elder sister	tsu′kkī	

[16] From one informant was obtained the term a'tciū, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term *unyunyu*, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī	little-my-sister
sister's son	atcī'-nya	atcī-son
sister's son's son	atcī-nya'-na	atcī-son-son
sister's son's daughter	atcī-nya-na'ma	atcī-son-daughter
sister's daughter	ūpū-na'ma	ūpū-daughter
sister's daughter's son	ūpū-na'ma-na	ūpū-daughter-son
sister's daughter's daughter	ūpū-na'ma-nama	ūpū-daughter-daughter

DESCENDING RELATIONSHIP

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
child	ka'ilya	
son	na	
elder son	awē'-na	big-son
younger son	ka'i-na	little-son
daughter	na'ma	
elder daughter	awē-na'ma	big-daughter
younger daughter	kai-na'ma	little-daughter
grandchild[17]	pa'nya	
great grandchild	tyū'ī-panya	tyūī-grandchild

RELATIONSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE

ENGLISH	CAYAPA	EQUIVALENT
husband	iñ ru'kū	my-old-man
wife[18]	iñ ci'mbū	my-old-woman
father-in-law	antc-a'pa	antc-father

[17] Under ordinary circumstances the simple term pa'nya is used to designate all grandchildren, but there is an indication that more specific terms exist. These terms, according to the particular informant from whom they were obtained, appear to be as follow: son's son, lyūpū-na-pa'nya, or na-na'-mīabe; son's daughter, na-sūpū-nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's son. nama-na'-mīabe; daughter's daughter, sū'pū-nama-pa'nya, nama-sū'pū-nama-na-mīabe, or na-i'ñ-nama.

[18] The term iñ-tsa'kī was also said to signify wife, but the connection appears to be somewhat doubtful.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

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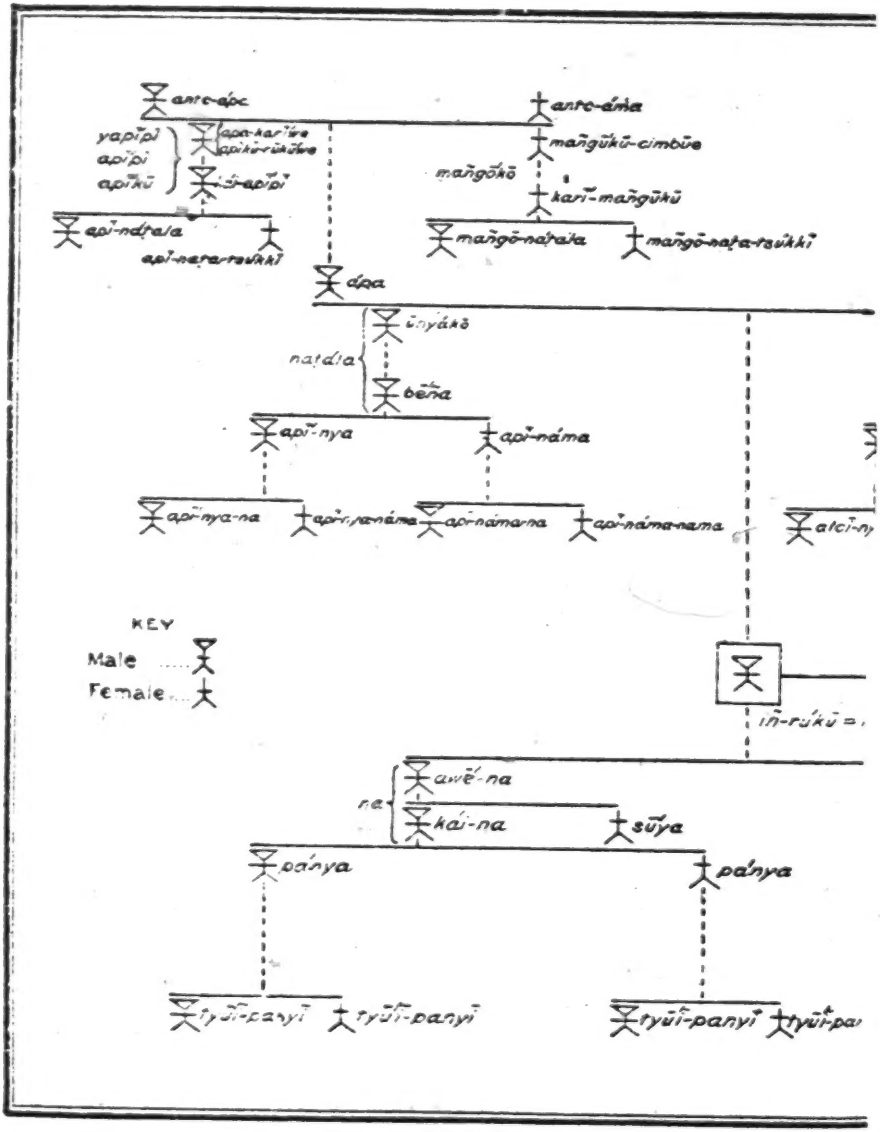

[p. 336(A)]

KINSHIP

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

PL. CXXIX

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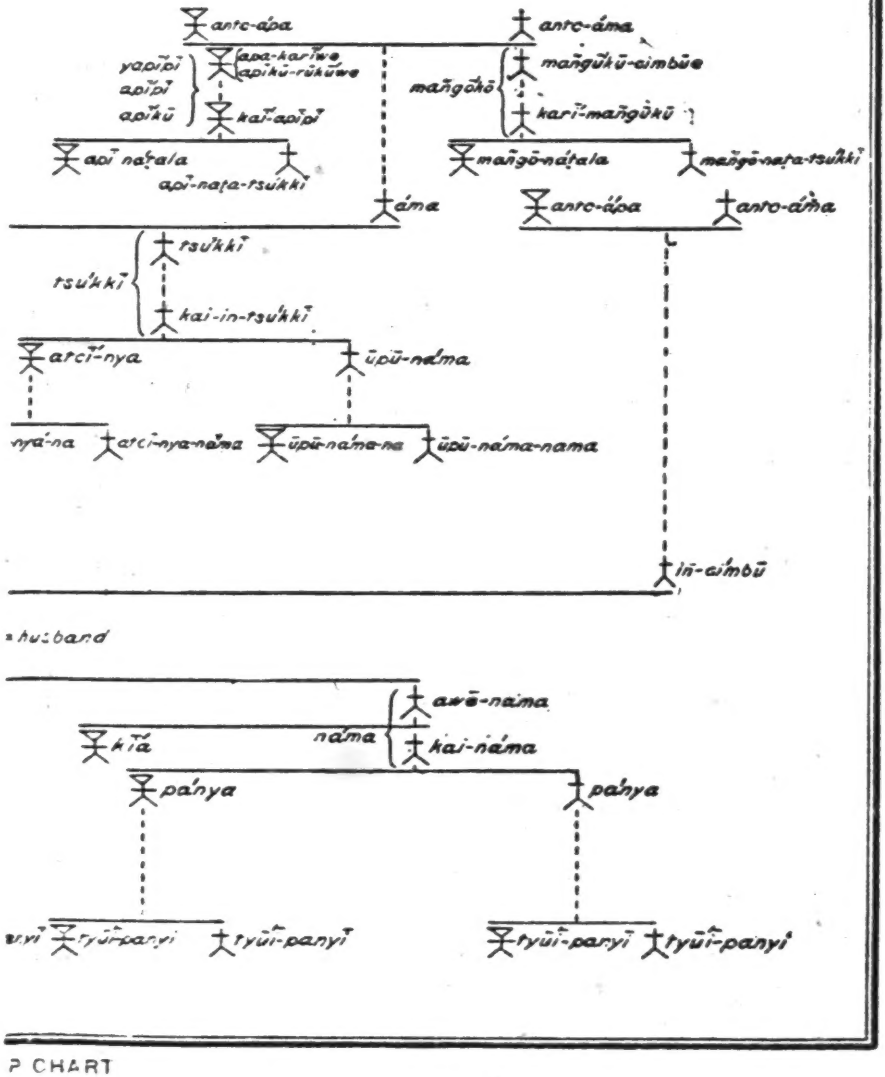

P CHART

[p. 336 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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mother-in-law	antc-a'ma	antc-mother
mother-in-law (term of derision)	a'ia	
son-in-law	kī'a	
daughter-in-law	sū'ya	

In pl. CXXIX is given a kinship chart showing graphically the principal relationships among the Cayapa.

Composition of Terms

QUALIFYING TERMS

All terms of relationship are preceded by the possessive pronoun, which varies according to the relationship of the person in question to the speaker, to the person spoken to, or to the person spoken of. Thus, in the singular these possessives are iñ, nyū, and ya, signifying my, thy, and his respectively. The full possessive forms are iñ-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī, but the -tcī is usually dropped when these terms are used in this connection. The plurals are almost never heard in ordinary use. These, in their full forms, are la-tcī, nyū-tcī, and ya-tcī. In here dealing with the terms of relationship the possessive pronouns are systematically omitted in order to simplify the tabulation and discussion of the terms.

It is a notable fact that, though this possessive relationship between the person in question and the speaker, the person spoken to, or the person spoken of, is always expressed, no other possessive relationship appears in any of the terms. For example, my sister's daughter's daughter is always preceded by the first person posses-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•601 sive, iñ, to establish clearly the relationship of the speaker to the person spoken of, but within the term itself there appear no possessive elements whatsoever. When literally translated, therefore, the term signifies my-sister-daughter-daughter. All other terms which present analogous combinations of elements have similar forms. The only possible exception to this is the term for younger sister kai-in-tsu′kkī, little-my-sister.

In various terms the words son and daughter appear as qualifying elements, being compounded with other terms of relationship. In many of these cases, however, the terms with which these qualifying elements are combined appear to bear no resemblance to those primary terms indicating the same relationship. For instance, brother's son and brother's daughter are apī′-nya and apī-na′ma respectively, but brother is nata′la. The differences in the case of sister's son and sister's daughter are even more striking. These are atcī′-nya and ūpū-na′ma respectively, while the term sister is tsu′kkī. Thus none of these terms shows on its face even a similar form to that of the corresponding simple term for brother or sister.

The words father and mother also appear in the capacity of qualifiers in the terms antc-a′pa and antc-a′ma, signifying primarily grandfather and grandmother, and secondarily father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Elements indicative of size are used in certain terms, especially those in the descending series, as, elder and younger son, which are awē′-na and ka′i-na respectively, literally big son and little son.

The words old-man and old-woman are elements of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

certain terms. Husband and wife are simply my old man and my old woman, iñ ru′kū and iñ ci′mbū respectively. Uncle and aunt elder than the parent through whom the relationship exists are respectively apīkū-rükū′we (also given as apa-karī′we) and mañgū′kū-cimbū′we, signifying uncle old-man and aunt old-woman respectively.

As is frequently the case, the relationships existing between the children of brothers and sisters is conceived to be the same as that of brother and sister. In this case, however, it is not considered as a simple brother and sister relationship, but the term indicates the person through whom it is traced. Thus, uncle's son and aunt's son are apī-na′*t*ala and mañgō-na′*t*ala respectively, signifying literally father-brother and aunt-brother. It seems possible that the first part of this term aunt, which in full is mañgō′kō, may have been derived from mother, a′ma, just as the basal element of the term uncle is clearly derived from father, a′pa. In the case of aunt, however, the term is now so complex, and the term mother, on the other hand, is so simple, that it is difficult to establish clearly this derivation. If such a derivation is assumed, then the term aunt's son is equivalent to mother-ñgō (untranslatable)-brother.

When the terms uncle's daughter and aunt's daughter, however, are considered, it is found that these are formed by the simple addition of the term sister to the terms signifying uncle's son and aunt's son. These are then literally father-brother-sister and mother-ñgō-brother-sister.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MODIFYING CONCEPTS

601 The sex of the individual spoken of is indicated in all terms except grandchild and great-grandchild. The sex of the person through whom the relationship to the speaker is traced is carefully maintained in the terms of relationship in the collateral line, and there is some evidence that at times terms bearing somewhat of the quality are used in the descending line, though ordinarily the one simple term indicating grandchild is used for all grandchildren and the one term great-grandchild for all great-grandchildren. In the ascending line, on the other hand, no account whatever is taken of the sex of the individual through whom the relationship in question exists. That is to say, all the relatives through the mother are the same as those through the father. In short, this entire phase of the Cayapa kinship system may be summed up in the statement that (1) the respective relatives traced through the father and through the mother are the same, that (2) the respective relatives traced through the brother differ from those traced through the sister, and that (3) all descendants beyond sons and daughters have the same respective designations.

A rather unusual condition is shown in the terms of the collateral line. First of all the three terms brother, elder brother, and younger brother are entirely different each from the other, while the comparable terms for sister show the opposite condition, being formed on the same base. The terms for sister and for elder sister are in fact identical, while that for younger sister

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

is formed by the simple addition of the term signifying "little." 601

Proceeding to the terms for brother's children and grandchildren we find them built up on a single basal element, a′pī, which is entirely unrelated to any of the three terms naɬa′la, ūnya′kō, and bē′na, signifying brother. It is evidently related to the term uncle, the root of which is a′pī, which in turn appears to be the phonetically altered a′pa, father.

A different condition, however, is found when the analogous relationships through the sister are considered, for here enters what may be regarded as a double sex feature. Sister's son and sister's son's son and daughter are formed on the basal element a′tcī, with the addition respectively of the terms signifying son, son-son, and son-daughter. However, when the term sister's daughter and the terms for her two children are reached, it is found that they are formed on an entirely new basal term, ū′pū, which fact may be considered as indicative of a double sex distinction in the basal term. That is to say, while in the first instance the basal element a′tci is evidently employed with the signification of daughter of the sister of the speaker, it may be employed only when the following elements with which it is combined are those relating to the son of this daughter. If, on the other hand, it is desired to mention in these following elements the daughter of this daughter, a different basal term, ū′pū, is employed. Furthermore, there is no apparent connection between either of these two basal elements and the term tsu′kkī, indicating

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

•601 sister. It therefore seems fair to assume that these features of sex which appear in the elements that follow the basal element in these terms may perhaps react on this basal element itself in such manner as to alter it. However, it must be borne in mind that a similar condition does not obtain in the analogous terms that indicate the descendants of the brother of the speaker. Here the basal element is the same in all terms indicating these descendants, though it differs entirely from the three terms for brother.

There are two modes of indicating relative age—one is by the use of augmentatives and diminutives, the other by the use of terms signifying "old-man" and "old-woman." The latter are used in only two terms each. Old-man appears as a part of the term signifying uncle older than parent, apīkū-rūkū′we (also given as apa-karī′we), and in the term husband, iñ ru′kū, signifying literally my old-man. Old-woman likewise appears in the corresponding two terms, aunt older than parent, mañgū′kū cimbū′we, and in the term wife, iñ ci′mbū, literally my old-woman. In only one instance are terms entirely different from the basal one used to indicate relative age. This is in the case of brother, which is na*ɬ*a′la, while elder brother is ūnya′kô and younger brother is bē′ña.

The augmentative a′wę̄, meaning big, is used to indicate elder in only two terms, those for son and daughter. The diminutive ka′i, meaning small, is used to indicate younger in the terms for son, daughter, sister, uncle, and possibly aunt.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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The various terms of relationship in which the element of age enters are as follows:

ENGLISH	CAYAPA
brother	na/a'la
elder brother	ūnya'kō
younger brother	bē'ña
sister	tsu'kkī
elder sister	tsu'kkī
younger sister	kai-in-tsu'kkī
uncle	yapī'pī, apī'pī, apī'kū
older than parent	apa-karī'we apīkū-rūkū'we
younger than parent	ka'i-apīpī
aunt	mañgō'kō
older than parent	mañgū'kū cimbū'we
younger than parent	karī'-mañgūkū
son	na
elder son	awē'-na
younger son	ka'i-na
daughter	na'ma
elder daughter	awē-na'ma
younger daughter	kai-na'ma

In all cases the terms of relationship employed by the women are the same as those used by the men.

From the table of analyses of the terms of relationship it will be seen that in most respects these terms among the Cayapa are fairly simple. They comprise a limited series of fundamental terms on which as bases the rest are built up by combination with qualifying elements bearing certain definite relations to these basal elements. The two important conccpts which enter into these qualifying terms are sex and age, of which the latter is the more important.

[P. 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960. We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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[619]
[631]
[578]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

[114]

Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223)! Barrett records /maŋgúku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maŋgúku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could Be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /ápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /ancaʔtála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anc-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/ápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /apa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective

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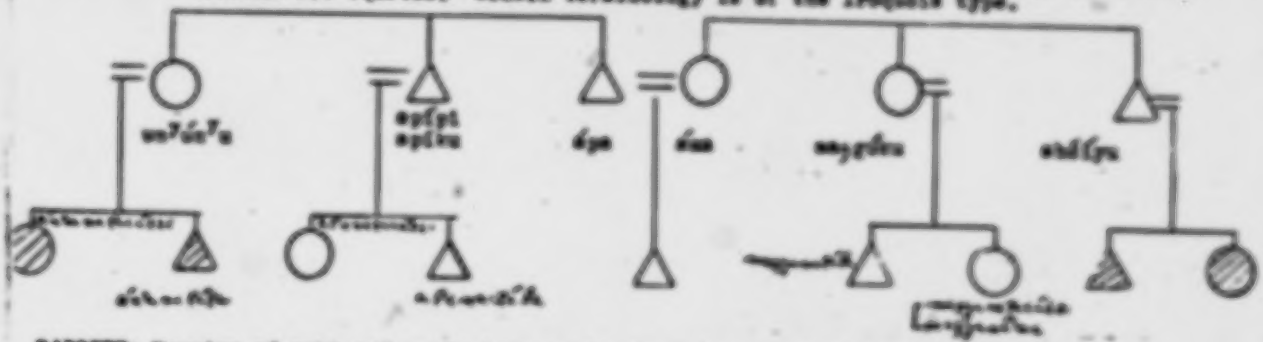
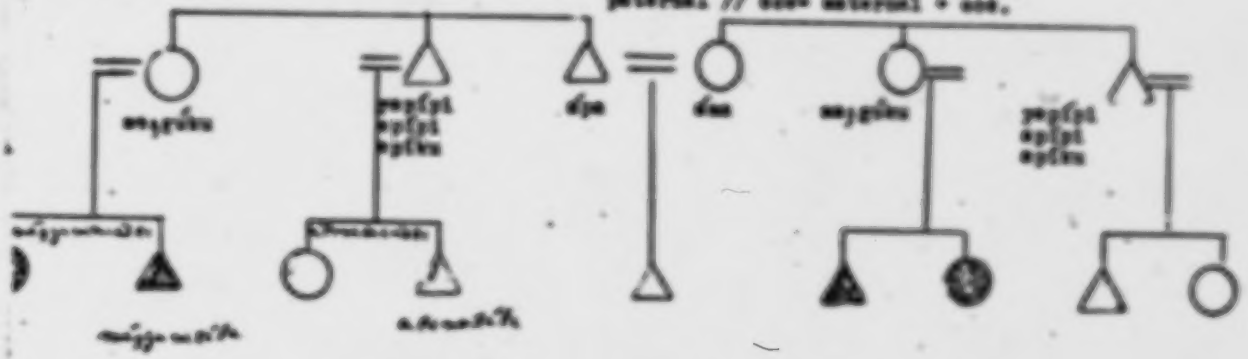
[581]

in-laws grandparents

ALTSCHULER: Distinction between paternal and maternal aunt and uncle terminology and cross-cousins are equated. Cousin terminology is of the Iroquois type.



BARRETT: Merging of aunt and uncle terms and paternal + sex = maternal // sex.
maternal // sex= maternal + sex.



Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SDS Corpus SD6

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ambápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 301-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett: the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /bílutála/. Maximino Mendoza Ámapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /íála bílutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /aápa/
Grandmother /aáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandekáⁱya/ w.s. /apinatakáⁱya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kailʸa/ (younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

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Brother's son /apínʸa/ m.s /unʸúna/ w.s.
Brother's son's son /apínʸapánʸa
Sister /cúhki/
Sister's son /ahčínʸa/ m.s., /maŋgú?na/ w.s.
Sister's daughter /upuná?na/
Son /na/
Daughter /náma/
Grandchild /pánʸa/
Husband /rúku/
Wife /činbu/
Father-in-law /ančápa/
Mother-in-law /ančáma/
Son-in-law /kía/
Daughter-in-law /súya/
Wife's brother /ʸámi/
Sister's husband /nʸámi/ m.s. /unʸúnʸurúku/ w.s.
Wife's sister /máŋgu/, /unʸúnʸu/
Father's sister's daughter's son /apiná.tala/
Mother's brother's wife /unʸuná.tasúya/
Husband's sister's son /unʸuna.taapíku/
Husband's mother's sister's husband /nʸámi/ (doubtful)
Wife's sister's son's wife /náŋgu/
Wife's brother's son /nʸamí?na/
Father's brother's daughter /nʸaminá?na/
Father's brother's da. da. husband /nʸámi/
Wife's mo. fa. br. son /nʸámi/
Father's br. da. da. /pánde cúhki/
Mother's fa. br. son /pánde káⁱya/
Father's fa. br. dz. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Mother's fa. br. so. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Father's fa. br. daughter /pánde cúhki/
Father's br. so. son (w.s.) /lúca?bulutála/, /pánde káⁱya/
Mother's mo. br. son /apiná.tala/
Daughter's husband's father /ančа?tála/
Mother's sister's husband (m.s.) /mučáču/, /unʸúnʸurúku/(w.s.)
Wife's sister's son /mučá?na/
Wife's sister's husband /nʸaŋdála/
Wife's brother's wife /cuhkihútu/
Father's sister's husband /mučácu/
Father's fa. br. so. son /apiná.tapánʸa/
Father's father's brother /čapíku/
Father's si. so. wife /únʸuna.tasúya/
Husband's mo. br. son /pánde apápi/
Father's si. so. son /únʸuna.tapánʸa/

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Father's si. so. da. /uhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

843

[262]

[152]

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

844
123

[769]